

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9752

INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

S E C R E T TAIPEI 5632

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, TW, CH

SUBJECT: HENRY KAO ON KISSINGER VISIT TO PEKING AND US
RECOGNITION OF PRC

1. SUMMARY: COMMUNICATIONS MINISTER HENRY KAO TOLD EMBOFF
SEPT 11 THAT MANY SENIOR GRC OFFICIALS BELIEVE FORTHCOMING
KISSINGER VISIT TO PEKING WILL RESULT IN US RECOGNITION
OF PRC. KAO WENT ON TO ATTACK CURRENT US CHINA POLICY
AS SELLOUT OF TAIWAN. KAO, WHO WEARS MANY FACES, HAS
PERIODICALLY INDULGED IN SIMILAR CRITICISM OVER PAST TWO
YEARS. HE MAY NOT REALLY BELIEVE US RECOGNITION IMMINENT
(NOR MAY OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS), BUT THERE CAN BE LITTLE
DOUBT THAT HIS FEELING TAIWAN IS HELPLESS PAWN IS US-PRC
GAME IS GENUINELY HELD AND THAT SIMILAR VIEWS ARE HELD
(THOUGH USUALLY LESS DRAMATICALLY EXPRESSED) BY OTHER
POLITICIANS AND INTELLECTUALS. TAIWAN'S LARGEST
CIRCULATION DAILY, UNITED DAILY CLWS, IN SERIES OF EDITORIALS
ON KISSINGER VISIT HAS TRIED TO DAMP DOWN SPECULATION THAT
US DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION OF PRC IS LIKELY RESULT OF VISIT.
KISSINGER'S SFRC TESTIMONY ON TAIWAN QUESTION SHOULD HAVE
SOME EASING EFFECT. END SUMMARY.

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WM COMMUNICATIONS MINISTER HENRY KAO USED ROUTINE CALL
BY EMBASSY OFFICER SEPT 11 TO DELIVER 15 MINUTE MONOLOGUE

ON SHORTSIGHTEDNESS OF CURRENT US CHINA POLICY AND ITS PROBABLE ILL EFFECTS ON TAIWAN. KAO OPENED WITH COMMENT THAT WHILE US MILITARY FORCES HERE ARE LEAVING, HE IS GLAD TO SEE THAT SOME EMBASSY OFFICERS WERE RETURNING TO TAIPEI EVEN THOUGH THEY PROBABLY WOULD STAFF A "LIAISON OFFICE" IN THE NEAR FUTURE, RATHER THAN AN EMBASSY. KAO ADDED RATHER BITTERLY THAT ALTHOUGH HE HAD PREDICTED 15 YEARS AGO THAT US EVENTUALLY MUST OPEN DIALOGUE WITH PEKING, HE "DID NOT FORESEE US WOULD FORSAKE ALL ITS INTERESTS IN SEA FOR NOMINAL CONCESSIONS FROM PEKING".

3. SINCE US HAS NOT STATED FRANKLY ITS INTENTIONS, KAO CONTINUED, HE GAVE FOLLOWING AS HIS OWN ANALYSIS OF WHERE US WAS HEADED: US MILITARY PRESENCE HERE WOULD BE WITHDRAWN AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE WITHOUT REGARD FOR ROC NEEDS. FORTHCOMING KISSINGER VISIT TO PEKING WOULD RESULT IN REPRESENTATION SWITCH WITH US RECOGNIZING PRC AS LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA AND REDESIGNATION OF US EMBASSY TAIPEI AS LIAISON OFFICE. KAO ALLEGED MANY HIGH-LEVEL GRC OFFICIALS SHARE THIS VIEW.

4. KAO THOUGHT IT HAD BECOME EVIDENT THAT REAL MEANING OF SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE IS THAT US HAS NO CONTINUING INTEREST IN TAIWAN. HE TERMED "ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE" LANGUAGE IN COMMUNIQUE AS CLEAR EVIDENCE US INTENDS ABANDON PEOPLE OF TAIWAN TO "A HORRIBLE EXISTENCE" AND SAW NO HOPE OF TAIWAN BEING ANYTHING OTHER THAN A HELPLESS PAWN IN US-PRC BARGAINING. US WOULD "OFFER TAIWAN ON A SILVER PLATTER" AND WOULD DO SO SOONER RATHER THAN LATER, AND KAO, BECAUSE US REALIZED THAT TAIWAN'S VALUE AS BARGAINING CHIP WAS GREATEST NOW AND WOULD DIMINISH WITH TIME.

5. COMMENT: KAO'S DIATRIBE IN LARGE PART IS ONLY REITERATION OF POINTS HE HAS MADE TO EMOFFS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS SINCE JULY 15, 1971 ANNOUNCEMENT OF DR. KISSINGER'S FIRST TRIP TO PEKING, GIVEN NEW TIMELINESS BY REFERENCES TO FORTHCOMING TRIP. WHILE MOST OF KAO'S CABINET COLLEAGUES WOULD AT LEAST QUALIFY MANY OF HIS ASSERTIONS,

#8 "HELPLESS PAWN" REMARKS ARE SIMILAR TO (THOUGH

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PHRASED MORE DRAMATICALLY AND IRRASCIBLY THAN) VIEWS WE HAVE HEARD FROM OTHER POLITICIANS AND INTELLECTUALS. FOR EXAMPLE, TEE TAIPEI'S A-150 OF AUGUST 16 AND A-165 OF SEPTEMBER 5.

6. EACH KISSINGER VISIT TO PAKING TOUCHES OFF WAVES OF SPECULATION AND DISCOMFORT BUT SENSITIVITIES AT THIS TIME ARE HEIGHTENED BY C-130 WITHDRAWAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF CONTINUING U.S. MILITARY DRAWDOWN. SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WAS MUCH EASIER TO LIVE WITH

WHEN US SEEMED NOT DOING VERY MUCH TO CARRY IT OUT.

7. KAO'S ASSERTION THAT MANY HIGH-LEVEL GRC OFFICIALS FEAR NEXT KISSINGER TRIP WILL RESULT IN US RECOGNITION OF PRC EXAGGERATES LEADERSHIP VIEWS BUT MIGHT COME CLOSER TO REFLECTING LESS INFORMED PUBLIC'S APPREHENSION. LIEN HO PAO (UNITED DAILY NEWS),

TAIWAN'S LARGEST CIRCULATION DAILY, HAS COMMENTED ON KISSINGER TRIP IN NO LESS THAN THREE EDITORIALS IN PAST WEEK, TAKING POSITION RECOGNITION UNLIKELY TO RESULT. LHP HAS SUGGESTED TRADE PACT, EXPANSION OF LIAISON OFFICES, OR FORMAL INVITATION TO CHOU TO VISIT US MORE LIKELY OUTCOMES. THAT LHP HAS FELT OBLIGED TO DEAL WITH THE ISSUE THREE TIMES IN SEVEN DAYS NEVERTHELESS IS GOOD INDICATION OF DEPTH OF LOCAL CONCERN. DR. KISSINGER'S SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE TESTIMONY ON TAIWAN ISSUE, OW RECEIVING HEAVY PRESS PLAY AND SHOULD HAVE SOME EASING EFFECT THOUGH FEARS ARE LIKELY TO REMAIN CLOSE TO THE SURFACE.
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